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THE INTERNATIONAL COTTON EXPOSITION OF 1881 AND ITS IMPACT UPON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF GEORGIA

By
Jack Blicksilver*

The entire economy of the state of Georgia, and ultimately of the entire South, was profoundly influenced by the International Cotton Exposition of 1881. Out of an idea of northern origin, intended to further the cause of northern industrialists, came the spark which gave life to the growth of southern industrialization. This is the first of two articles describing this most important historical event.

In the fall of 1881 Atlanta held its International Cotton Exposition, the South's first world's fair. The product of specific objectives on the part of New England cotton manufacturers and less definite but equally ambitious designs of Atlanta's aggressive business community, the Exposition was to provide a powerful stimulus to the economic growth of Atlanta and the Southeast.

THE BACKGROUND

Atlanta in 1880—Eager for Progress

Atlanta had recovered rapidly from the catastrophe of war. Its population rose from 20,228 in 1866 to 37,409 by 1880. Although not yet an industrial center, Atlanta had already assumed premier rank as a key distribution point for manufactured products flowing in from the East and foodstuffs rolling in on rails from the Midwest. Magnificently served by railroads which crisscrossed the state in virtually every direction, Atlanta by 1880 was enjoying an annual trade of 40 million dollars. It was handling 100,000 bales of cotton annually, and 200 traveling salesmen were using Atlanta as a base of operations.¹

With the passing of the depression of the 1870's, Atlanta was ready to cross the threshold into an era of even more rapid growth. Observant visitors commented on its businesslike appearance, its resemblance to thriving northern cities. They were impressed with Atlanta's immense warehouses, packed with soft goods and groceries, the "bustling, rustling and whirl" about the downtown business section, the business code which dictated that "every

business man—clerk and proprietor—be in his office by 7 o'clock a.m." Also impressive was the cosmopolitan spirit of its residents, their tolerance and willingness to submerge the rancors of the past. Visitors noted that "Social ostracism or persecution for opinion's sake is almost unknown . . ." and narrow sectionalism was becoming "circumscribed more closely day by day."²

But although the city could boast of a considerable number of wealthy citizens, one of the finest daily newspapers in the South, and many "pretty streets of villa-like residences," it was in many ways still an overgrown town. The sewerage system was "imperfect and absurd" and, since the streets had not yet been paved, in rainy weather "pedestrians became large possessors of real estate by simply walking over the ground." When visiting at night "a lantern to show the way and a club for dogs [were] as necessary as in any village."³ Since that fateful autumn of 1864 when, in the euphonious phrase of Henry Grady, General Sherman had been so "careless with matches," the citizens of Atlanta in their unremitting efforts to reconstruct their city and develop its economy were willing to

2. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, op. cit., p. 15; E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 256; Richmond State in *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 18, 1881; New Orleans Times in *ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1881; Baltimore Sun in *Constitution*, Dec. 1, 1881.

3. *Constitution*, Dec. 1, 6, 1881; Baltimore Sun in *ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1881.

*Dr. Blicksilver is Assistant Professor of Economic History, School of Business Administration of Georgia State College of Business Administration.

1. Henry G. Baker, *Rich's of Atlanta* (Atlanta, 1953), pp. 18-19; Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs* (New York, 1954), I, 730, II, 1; Edward King, *The Great South* (Hartford, 1875), p. 356.

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postpone temporarily an enjoyment of some of the refinements of urban life.

The energetic business community that was to rebuild the city and promote the Exposition was "drawn from the cradles of the universe." Literally, there were no native Atlantans. Although a majority of the 21,079 white residents in 1880 were southern in origin, 1,416 were of foreign birth and 401 were born in New York. Many of the leading businessmen of the city—men such as Grant Wilkins, Sidney Root, Richard Peters, John C. Peck, Edward P. Chamberlin, L. P. Grant, and former governor Rufus Bullock—were of northern birth. In no sense of the term, however, could they be considered carpetbaggers.⁴ Most of them had settled in Atlanta in the 1850's and a few had fought for the Confederacy. Other ambitious businessmen, such as Morris Rich and Hannibal I. Kimball, were drawn to the phoenix city arising from the ashes by the attraction of expanding opportunities in wholesale and retail trade, railroad construction, and real estate. They were joined by many young men from farms and small towns in adjacent states. Woodrow Wilson, setting up a law office in Atlanta in 1882, gave the reason: "It, more than almost every other Southern city, offers all the advantages of business activity and enterprise."⁵

Exposition Suggested by Northern Manufacturers

The International Cotton Exposition reflected the aims and ambitions of diverse groups of businessmen. The initial impetus came from Edward Atkinson, former treasurer of several New England cotton mills and at the time president of the Boston Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company. An economist of some note and a controversialist with an imposing bibliography, Atkinson, in the summer of 1880, proposed that something be done about the "dirty, wet, muddy bales of cotton fiber, badly ginned, badly covered, and badly packed" that northern manufacturers were receiving from the gineries of the South. Actually, a deterioration in cleaning and preparing the cotton for market had taken place with the breakdown of the plantation system. Facing increasingly aggressive competition from abroad, American cotton manufacturers were becoming perturbed over the additional cost and the impairment in the strength of the fabric resulting from running the lint through an opener, scutcher, and two carding operations to clean it thoroughly. Some manufacturers proposed to ship seed cotton north for ginning, but Atkinson represented the views of those who believed that an educational campaign would produce the desired results. During the summer of 1880 he corresponded with leading cotton planters and wrote letters to the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* and the New

York *Herald*, suggesting that an exposition devoted to the tools, methods, products, and processes affecting the cultivation and preparation of cotton be held, preferably in a northern city. Specifically, the cotton spinners wanted to see demonstrated: a) cottonseed cleaners which would produce a substantial yield in good condition, b) whether new roller gins recently developed in England could replace the harsher saw gins on extra stapled cotton, and c) efficient small presses which would permit the individual planter to press his best cotton in 120 pound bales.⁶

Since better cultivation and preparation for market held out the promise of higher prices and greater profits, leading cotton planters such as Frank C. Morehead, president of the National Cotton Planters Association, W. C. Richardson, and Ben S. Ricks eagerly supported Atkinson's plan. They insisted, however, that to achieve maximum effectiveness the exposition would have to be held in the South.⁷

Exposition in Its Planning Stages

The choice of location soon narrowed to Louisville or Atlanta. In Atlanta farsighted business leaders

6. Harold F. Williamson, Edward Atkinson (Boston, 1934), pp. 166-167; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXI (July 3, 1880), 25; *Constitution*, Nov. 13, 1880; Hannibal I. Kimball, *Report of the Director General, International Cotton Exposition* (New York, 1882), pp. 15-17, 27 (hereafter cited as *Report*).

7. *Report*, p. 227.

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4. C. Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia* (New York, 1915), 216-217.

5. Letter dated Sept. 22, 1881, quoted in Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, op. cit., p. 47.

were alert to the stimulus to the city's economic life that a fair of considerable magnitude would produce. The vision and enthusiasm characteristic of the spirit of the New South was best reflected in the editors and staff of the *Atlanta Constitution*—editor-in-chief Evan P. Howell, managing editor Henry W. Grady, editorial paragrapher Joel C. Harris, and business manager William A. Hemphill. They envisaged the exposition as an event which would propel the South into a new era. Not only would it improve agricultural methods and promote diversification, but it would surely foster industry by bringing the great potentialities of the South to the attention of northern capitalists. As for Atlanta, a certain consequence of the fair would be to "line our watercourses with factories, stimulate our export trade, call capital to the construction of southern railroads, [and] open up . . . the magnificent range of South American and Mexican markets. . . ." Warning that rival cities were eager to reap the rewards of being host to the fair, the *Constitution*, with evangelical fervor, assumed the lead in urging that Atlanta grasp the opportunity.⁸

Interest mounted when Atkinson visited Atlanta while on a tour of the South. On the evening of October 18, 1880 he met Atlanta's business leaders at a reception in Hannibal Kimball's home and the following evening, speaking before a large audience in the Senate Chamber, he expressed his preference for Atlanta as the site of the exposition.⁹

But events still moved slowly. For one thing, there was some discontent over the narrow scope of the fair as proposed by Atkinson. Although he expressed a willingness to include exhibits of all textile fabrics, in private letters and public addresses Atkinson attempted to draw attention away from the one thing the South was becoming most interested in—the manufacture of cotton cloth.¹⁰

With dwindling enthusiasm in a fair as circumscribed as the one proposed by Atkinson and with attention riveted on the elections, little was done until the able and adept new editors of the *Textile Record*, James W. Ryckman and James Nagle, breezed into Atlanta in late November bringing with them the assurance from influential cotton manufacturers and factors of an "unmistakable evidence of favor" for an exposition. Far from discouraging the industrial hopes of the South, Ryckman contended that "above everything else the exposition will show to the capitalists of the country that here in Georgia and throughout the south is the place to build cotton factories," and painted in glowing terms the economic rejuvenation that would take place.¹¹

Entranced by the vision of Atlanta as "the Manchester of America," the city's business elite, with characteristic energy and enthusiasm, began to

translate the dream into reality. Before the week was out, "The International Cotton Exposition Association" was created, to be financed along the lines suggested by Ryckman as a stock company with the subscribers taking an ordinary business risk. The slate of proposed officers was headed by Senator Joseph E. Brown as president, Samuel M. Inman as treasurer, and Ryckman, who volunteered to remain in Atlanta and serve without remuneration, as secretary. A permanent organization was established the following spring when a charter was obtained and the management of the enterprise was officially delegated to a Board of Managers consisting of an Executive Committee of 25 elected by the stockholders and four officers appointed by the Executive Committee. Governor Alfred Colquitt replaced Senator Brown as president and H. I. Kimball was named Director-General of the enterprise. The charter reflected the expanded scope of the exposition. Its purpose was now given to be the demonstration of appliances and machinery used in the "cultivation, preparation and manufacture" of cotton and other fabrics, and "whatever else is directly or indirectly connected with or beneficial to the cotton textile and other interests of the United States and other countries. . . ."¹²

This enlargement assured support from nascent manufacturing interests in the South and builders of textile machinery in the North, such as George Draper of Hopedale, Massachusetts, one of the petitioners for the charter. With the suggestion already advanced that the mineral and timber resources of the South be exhibited, and with business groups in the East and Midwest becoming alert to the potentialities of an expanding southern market, the way was now opened for the holding of a fair of truly national dimensions. The exposition was virtually assured when one-third of the capital stock of 100,000 dollars was subscribed by Atlanta's businessmen within six hours on March 15. In a whirlwind tour through the East, Kimball raised the additional funds. By the time the contracts for constructing the buildings were let in mid-June, the original concept of an exposition restricted to cotton had expanded "until its invitation was published to every people and every industry known to human skill."¹³

THE EXPOSITION: ITS NATURE AND SCOPE

The International Cotton Exposition opened on October 5. Oglethorpe Park, located two and a half miles northwest of the city and directly on the lines of the Western and Atlantic Railroad, had been converted into handsome exposition grounds upon which were constructed 27 buildings affording 21 acres of floor space. The Main Building, modeled after the Willimantic Linen Company's new structure, was in the shape of a Greek cross. This building, supplied with eight lines of shafting and pow-

8. *Constitution*, Nov. 9, Dec. 4, 1880; Raymond B. Nixon, Henry W. Grady (New York, 1943), pp. 184-185.

9. *Report*, pp. 93-94.

10. *Constitution*, Nov. 2, 13, 1880; *Report*, pp. 12-27.

11. *Constitution*, Nov. 28, 1880.

12. *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1880; *Report*, p. 4.

13. *Report*, pp. 96-100; *Constitution*, Oct. 6, 1881.

ered by a 75, a 90, and a 100 horsepower steam engine, was designed to house all machinery relating to cotton and other industries. Agricultural and carriage annexes extended along its southern side, and the mineral and woods department formed an annex at the western end of the structure. The Executive Committee also constructed an Art and Industrial Pavilion, Judges Hall, with offices, committee rooms and an auditorium seating 2,000, and a hotel adjoining the grounds large enough to accommodate 1,000 guests.¹⁴ In addition many of the exhibitors constructed buildings to house their displays.

Exhibits Bring Visions of Industry for the South

In all there were 1,113 exhibits from 33 states, the District of Columbia, and six foreign countries. Southern states contributed more than half of the total number. Georgia led with 301 exhibits, followed by New York (152), Pennsylvania (78), Tennessee (75), Ohio (66), Massachusetts (48), South Carolina (39) and Illinois (31). The large number of exhibitions from Georgia was doubly gratifying in view of the fact that an economy-minded legislature, still harboring old animosities against Director-General Kimball from the Reconstruction period, declined to appropriate funds for an official display of the resources of the state.¹⁵

Observant visitors soon noted the intensely practical and utilitarian nature of the Exposition. When a female acquaintance of the correspondent of the *Athens Banner* complained that she was somewhat disappointed with the fair, he conceded that "The display in art is meagre," but hastily added that "in manufactured articles, machinery, mineral, woods and agricultural products, it is beyond anything ever seen in Georgia. . . ."¹⁶ A reporter from Boston confirmed this judgment. "There is more to interest the student of industrial questions than any other fair in the world ever showed," he wrote, "and perhaps there is less to interest the mere sightseer than any other fair ever afforded. Everything is suggestive; every exhibit is an appeal for capital. Every feature of the exposition is an index to a vast volume."¹⁷

The variety of products displayed was very great. With more than two million dollars worth of machines and exhibits the Exposition far outstripped the Philadelphia Centennial in a number of categories. Among the products displayed by the 71 exhibitors filling the center wing of the Main Building were fire extinguishers, belting and mill supplies, confectionery, aniline dyes, locomotive, telegraphic and electric supplies, fire engines, rubber goods, glass blowing, barb wire, thread machinery, silk dress goods, as well as "everything great and

small used in the manufacture of cotton goods." From Philadelphia alone came exhibitions of nuts and bolts, dyed yarns, chemical paints, boots and shoes, wool machinery, fire and burglar proof safes, dental instruments, cotton gins, sheetings and shirtings, fertilizers, garden and field seeds, saws, fine brick, knitting machines, ornamental iron works, baking and washing powder, cod liver oil, soaps and disinfectants, engines and boilers, engravings, patent road machines, and pharmaceutical preparations.¹⁸ Secretary of State Blaine had American consuls abroad transmit 5,000 samples of cotton yarn and cloth from all parts of the world. Girls from the mountain communities of north Georgia operated primitive hand spinning machines side by side the most modern textile machinery, graphically illustrating the progress that had taken place in the industry. Visitors could see candy and watches being made, spool cotton manufactured by three of the world's largest producers, cottonseed hullers in operation and new processes for the distillation of wood and the processing of turpentine demonstrated. For the mechanically-minded, for those with a vision of an industrialized South, it was indeed, in the words of a visitor from New York, a "wondrous show."¹⁹

Of particular importance to those anxious to attract northern capital was the Department of Minerals and Woods. The idea of having the various railroads which traversed the South display the mineral and timber resources found along the routes of their lines, first advanced by Edward Atkinson, was welcomed eagerly by the Executive Committee. As Hannibal Kimball later noted: "It was recognized that there could be awakened in no other way . . . that world-wide interest in resources not generally known, whose practical outcome is immigration, settlement, and development."²⁰

Although the railroad executives were at first somewhat apathetic to the project, at length they agreed to allocate sufficient funds to arrange the exhibits. Under the skilled direction of J. B. Killebrew the resulting display overflowed the main railroad building and was of such calibre that when the Exposition closed the core of the display was placed on permanent exhibition at the Department of Agriculture in Washington. It not only impressed those who visited Oglethorpe Park, but reports by correspondents of the northern press of beautiful white oak trees 60 feet high selling for two dollars in Georgia, while whiteoak staves were bringing 130 dollars per 1,200 staves in the East, did much to stir the imagination of those with capital available for investment.²¹

18. For the fullest description of the various exhibits see Frank H. Norton, "Report on the International Cotton Exposition," *Agricultural Review*, II (Jan., 1882), 91-173; *Constitution*, Sept. 17, 18, Oct. 16, 1881; *Cincinnati Gazette in Constitution*, Oct. 15, 1881.

19. *Constitution*, Nov. 4, 1881.

20. *Report*, pp. 111, 367.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-366; *Lancaster Penn. New Era in Constitution*, Oct. 19, 1881.

14. *Report*, pp. 45-46, 103, 108-109; *Constitution*, Oct. 3, 1881, Jan. 1, 1882.

15. *Boston Commercial Bulletin in Constitution*, Oct. 27, 1881.

16. *Athens Banner in Constitution*, Nov. 23, 1881.

17. *New York World in Constitution*, Oct. 14, 1881; *Boston Post in Constitution*, Oct. 19, 1881; *Boston Commercial Bulletin in Constitution*, Oct. 29, 1881.

The demonstration that made the most profound impression upon visitors and the reading public alike was the widely publicized feat, arranged by the shrewd and able president of the Willimantic Linen Company, William E. Barrows, of having a suit of clothes sewn on the fair grounds from cotton picked the same day. The experiment was first attempted on Governor's Day, October 27, before the first large crowd to attend the Exposition. The Ozier variety silk cotton was picked just before 7:00 a.m. and immediately ginned. After a half hour on the picker and an equal amount of time on the cards, it was spun into filling and sent to the Crompton loom. By the time a large audience began to gather at nine o'clock the material for the vest appeared, and as the crowd cheered the cloth came through rapidly. By 12:30 the first pieces of cloth were taken to the dye house where within 30 minutes they were dyed and dried. At 12:55 the cotton "which less than 6 hours before was hanging on the stalk" was given to the tailor and by 6:00 p.m. two handsomely lined, swallow-tailed cottonade suits were ready to be worn by the governors of Connecticut and Georgia at receptions that evening. This demonstration, repeated successfully on a number of other occasions, riveted the attention of the nation on the economic advantage of manufacturing cloth in the vicinity of the raw material.²²

Although the Exposition was oriented toward cotton, the products of southern mines and forests and northern machinery, there was a definite effort to display the advantages of general farming and livestock raising. This attempt reflected an appreciation on the part of such promoters of the Exposition as Henry Grady and Edward P. Chamberlin of the interdependence of the various segments of the economy, of the inability of Atlanta to enjoy a healthy prosperity if rural Georgia declined.

The unhappy truth was that southern agriculture had become more specialized and lopsided since the end of the war. Reporters who noted northern baled hay and western corn in front of Atlanta feed stores provided further documentation for the official statistics which indicated that the amount of hay and grain grown in Georgia was a distressingly small percentage of the amount consumed. The development of the crop lien system with its attendant pressure for producing a staple, readily marketable crop, together with increasingly cheap transportation rates from the newly opened fields in the Plain States, led to a decreasing acreage devoted to cereals and forage crops. As a result, in cereal production Georgia farmers produced three million fewer bushels in 1880 than in 1860, and by the latter year grew less than 50 per cent of the wheat and only one-ninth of the hay that her people and livestock consumed.²³

The failure of the state legislature to appropriate funds for an exhibit was in part amended by a display jointly sponsored by the State Department of Agriculture, the State Agricultural Society, and a number of Georgia farmers. Attracting much attention was the display illustrative of mixed farming prepared by J. F. Jones of Hogansville. Jones, who reported that he was raising cotton for three cents a pound and was securing an average of 1.5 bales per acre, attributed his success to a decision to reduce markedly his scale of operations, to use only the best seed and to raise all his own provisions, making his cotton crop the surplus. His exhibit included honey, chufas, ground nuts, sugar cane 16 feet high, wheat, oats, rye, corn 18 feet high, as well as cotton in the lint and the bale.²⁴ Although the plans of the Executive Committee to hold weekly shows of cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry did not materialize, a "fair showing" of horned cattle and a better one of merino sheep, fine Southdowns from Kentucky and Essex swine was made.²⁵

Attendance is Disappointing

The great number of suggestive exhibits, the extent to which improved tools and methods of diversified agriculture were demonstrated, makes all the more poignant the failure of the Exposition to draw the anticipated attendance from the South. Whereas the Philadelphia Centennial received 85 per cent of its receipts from a radius of 100 miles it was doubted whether Georgia supplied one-half of the attendance at the Cotton Exposition.²⁶

For the first three weeks after the Exposition opened the promoters and exhibitors, frantically working to complete the exhibits, congratulated themselves on the slimness of the attendance and reiterated their confidence that the great crowds would come when they were ready for them. But when, by the end of October, the average daily attendance showed little sign of increasing, they could no longer mask their alarm. The exhibitors held a mass meeting and the *Constitution*, editorializing that it was "A Very Serious Matter," assessed major blame on the railroads for failing to make low excursion rates from southern communities to Atlanta. Although railroad officials at first declined to lower their rates to one cent a mile, they were finally sufficiently impressed with the magnitude of the undertaking and the absolute necessity of reduced fares to make the desired concessions. Led by Joseph Brown's Western and Atlantic and the Central of Georgia, all the principal lines serving Atlanta established special weekly excursions at a penny a mile.²⁷

With reduced fares, the end of the harvesting
(Continued on page 11)

22. *Constitution*, Oct. 27, 30, Nov. 20, Dec. 7, 8, 1881.
23. *Twelfth Census, 1900*, VI, Part II, 64-65; *Constitution*, Oct. 8, 1881; *New York Times* in *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1881.

24. *Constitution*, Oct. 12, 13, 1881; *Boston Commercial Advertiser* in *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1881; *Report*, pp. 118-119.

25. *Report*, pp. 119-120.

26. *Constitution*, Jan. 1, 1882.

27. *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 13, 28, 30, Nov. 5, 13, 22, Dec. 10, 25, 1881; *Report*, p. 122.



MARCH 1957

ATLANTA AREA ECONOMIC INDICATORS

ITEM	March 1957	February 1957	% Change	March 1956	% Change	% Change Three Months '57 Over Three Month '56
EMPLOYMENT						
Job Insurance (Unemployment)						
Payments -----	\$387,127	\$343,758	+12.6	\$235,001	+64.7	+72.8
Job Insurance Claimants† -----	5,692	5,878	-3.2	3,825	+48.8	+47.5*
Total Non-Ag. Employment -----	341,300	340,850r	+0.1	335,700r	+1.7	+1.5*
Manufacturing Employment -----	89,500	89,500r	—	87,700r	+2.1	+0.6*
Average Weekly Earnings,						
Factory Workers -----	\$71.97	\$73.47r	-2.0	\$67.72	+6.3	-2.5*
Average Weekly Hours,						
Factory Workers -----	38.9	39.5r	-1.5	39.6	-1.8	-0.8
Number Help Wanted Ads -----	9,545	8,494	+12.4	9,927	-3.9	+0.6
CONSTRUCTION						
Number of Building Permits § --	681	703	-3.1	1,061	-35.8	-17.5
Value Building Permits § -----	\$5,264,726	\$4,780,468	+10.1	\$5,207,323	+1.1	+3.6
Employees, Contract Construction	17,450	17,050r	+2.3	18,900r	-7.7	-8.4*
FINANCIAL						
Bank Debits (Millions) -----	\$1,553.6	\$1,457.4	+6.6	\$1,548.6	+0.3	+2.6
Bank Deposits (Millions)						
(Last Wednesday) -----	\$1,068.3	\$1,063.2	+0.5	\$1,044.9	+2.2	+2.2**
POSTAL §						
Postal Receipts -----	\$1,442,823	\$1,364,680	+5.7	\$1,496,809	-3.6	-3.8
Poundage 2nd Class Mail -----	1,283,989	1,247,923	+2.9	1,509,016	-14.9	-12.7
OTHER						
Department Store Sales Index						
(Adjusted 1947-49=100) -----	153	150	+2.0	140	+23.6	-2.0†
Retail Food Price Index						
(1947-49=100) -----	111.8	112.1	-0.3	107.9	+3.6	+3.6**
Consumer Price Index						
(1947-49=100) -----	120.6	119.5D	+0.9	116.8	+3.3	—
Number of Telephones in Service	295,184	292,631	+0.9	278,254	+6.1	—

r—Revised

*Average month

**End of period

†—Based on retail dollar amounts

§City of Atlanta only.

N. A.—Not Available

D—December 1956

†Claimants include both the unemployed and those with job attachments, but working short hours.
 Sources: All data on employment, unemployment, hours, and earnings: Employment Security Agency, Georgia Department of Labor;
 Number Help Wanted Ads: Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.; Building permit data: Office of the Building Inspector, Atlanta, Georgia;
 Financial data: Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System; Postal data: Atlanta Post Office; Retail Food Price Index: U. S.
 Department of Labor; Department Store Sales Index: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta and Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System;
 Telephones in Service: Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company.



BUSINESS ACTIVITY IN MARCH

The growth of the Atlanta manufacturing worker's payroll check has been rapid during the past eight years. During this time his average weekly wage has risen from \$46.28 in 1949 to \$71.38 in 1956. His wages have increased 54 per cent while the cost of living, as measured by the consumer price index, has risen only 15.8 per cent. While his position still does not compare so favorably with workers in other major cities, he has managed to

narrow the gap between his wages and those of the average United States factory worker. The table on this page compares these figures in terms of current dollars and in 1956 dollars and shows that in 1949 the Atlanta manufacturing worker's real wages were but 85.4 per cent of the national average. By 1956, this figure had increased to 89.0 per cent; and in December 1956, reached 94.6 per cent. The gap is closing.

Average Weekly Wages—Manufacturing Workers—Atlanta & United States

Period		All Manufacturing				Atlanta as per cent of United States 1956 Prices
		Atlanta		United States		
		Current Prices	1956 Prices ¹	Current Prices	1956 Prices ¹	
1949		\$46.28	\$53.56	\$54.92	\$62.69	85.4
1950		49.65	56.68	59.33	67.04	84.5
1951		53.22	55.50	64.71	67.76	81.9
1952		57.94	59.00	67.97	69.57	84.8
1953		62.83	63.88	71.69	72.78	87.8
1954		63.04	63.81	71.86	72.73	87.7
1955		68.54	69.51	76.52	77.69	89.5
1956		71.38	71.38	80.19	80.19	89.0
1956:	January	68.06	68.61	78.55	79.67	86.1
	February	69.37	70.14	78.17	79.28	88.5
	March	67.72	68.47	78.78	79.82	85.8
	April	69.48	70.25	78.99	79.87	88.0
	May	69.52	69.59	79.00	79.56	87.5
	June	69.48	69.55	79.19	79.19	87.8
	July	69.65	69.72	79.00	78.45	88.9
	August	70.70	70.21	79.79	79.39	88.4
	September	71.73	71.23	81.40	80.75	88.2
	October	72.76	72.25	82.21	81.15	89.0
	November	76.26	75.36	82.22	81.08	92.9
	December	79.27	78.33	84.05	82.81	94.6
1957:	January	74.59	73.06	82.41	81.03	90.2
	February	73.47	71.96	82.41	80.64	89.2
	March	71.97	70.49	82.00	80.16	87.9

1. Earnings in current prices divided by Consumer Price Index on a 1956 base. Index for Atlanta published quarterly; each month adjusted by index figure for nearest period.

Source: *Economic Indicators*, Council of Economic Advisors, March 1957; U. S. Department of Labor; Employment Security Agency of the Georgia Department of Labor; and *Survey of Current Business*, April 1957, Office of Business Economics, U. S. Department of Commerce.

LEADERSHIP—SOME INSIGHTS

by

Michael H. Mescon*

The Need for Leadership

Perhaps no problem is of greater importance than or as little understood as the constant dilemma of how to find, recruit, train, and develop competent administrative leadership. This is especially paradoxical when we realize that the survival of any enterprise or, for that matter, the perpetuation of society itself is contingent upon a constant supply of persons who are capable of wearing the mantle of administrative leadership.

It is generally accepted that the successful administrator is one who is capable of achieving enterprise objectives through the efforts of other people. This ability to channel and utilize human resources is a function of leadership and may, in fact, be considered the cornerstone of sound management.

Leadership Defined

One of the difficulties involved in developing administrative leadership is our inability to define what we mean by leadership. Some define leadership in terms of traits and characteristics. Others talk of leadership as a process arising from a situation. What is needed, then, is a common frame of reference upon which we might structure leadership development programs. Although not purporting to offer any one definition of leadership, or certainly not one which would be accepted by all interested in the leadership process, it might be well to mention Cattell's definition of a leader. Cattell indicates that a leader is "a person who has a demonstrable influence upon group syntality."¹ (Syntality simply signifies for the group what personality does for the individual.) This definition stresses the vital relationships between the individual and the group, recognizing that an individual remains a group leader only as long as he is able to meet the needs of a particular group. This theory is directly opposed to that view which considers leadership as being individually determined rather than determined by a group.

Leadership Attainment

For the sake of discussion, assume that leadership, or rather leader determination, is a function of the group. How, then, do people attain positions of leadership? Consider the theory that a period of perfect social competition exists prior to the initial selection of a leader, i.e., all members of a group have the opportunity to attain leadership

status and also have the opportunity to express certain preferences pertaining to the selection of a leader.²

Following this period of perfect social competition is the perfect but monopolistic stage in which the group is capable of visualizing its goals; and, by conducting a social audit, it selects some particular individual who the group believes is most capable of achieving group goals.

The final stage, although this stage is not always reached, represents a period of imperfect social competition in which the person initially selected to fulfill a leadership function is able to build up about him a *core of followers* who are able to exert controls and pressures over other group members. Once an individual has succeeded in structuring this core of followers, he may be considered an agent of social control.³

Because of the importance of the group in leader determination, we can easily understand that the role of leader is a tenuous position and that an individual remains in this role only as long as he is able to convince a group that he (the leader) is the instrumentality for achieving group goals and objectives.

Leadership—The Need for Research

Why is leadership important? The answer to this question is self-evident if we recognize that positive human relations is a basic requisite for effective management. Yet some do not recognize the tremendous gulf between our technological accomplishments and the application of those human relations principles that are essential elements for the development of positive social climates—climates which are necessary for the achievement of enterprise goals.⁴

The findings of Lewin; the contributions of Mayo; the conclusions of Warner, Gardner, Whyte⁵ (to cite just a few); and the Western Electric investigations are indices of the dynamic role that human relations plays in industrial society. However, even with these data illustrating the interdependence of efficient production and the meeting of employee needs (and these needs are social as well as economic), the development of administra-

2. The analogy between leadership at the formative stage and perfect competition was suggested by Dr. Wm. R. Hammond. Further clarification, as well as a basic framework for this comparison, is provided by Albert Meyers in his *Elements of Modern Economics*, 4th edition (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956).

3. Joseph S. Roucek, *Social Control* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1947), p. 4.

4. It is assumed that the application of effective human relations is a leadership function.

5. The names of Lewin, Mayo, Warner, Gardner, and W. F. Whyte represent to the field of human relations what Taylor represents to the area of management, or what Henry Ford represents to the automotive industry.

*Dr. Mescon is Assistant Professor of Management, School of Business Administration of Georgia State College of Business Administration.

1. Raymond B. Cattell, "New Concepts for Measuring Leadership in Terms of Group Syntality," in *Group Dynamics, Research and Theory*, ed. by Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, and Co., 1953), p. 24.

tive leadership and effective human relations is still considered by some to be of secondary importance to the "real" problems facing business and industry.

Some of these "real" problems are often considered in terms of employee production and employee compensation. Yet, there is building up a vast storehouse of research data which indicates that these problems are as much human relations problems as they are economic dilemmas. In regard to wage problems, for example, Belcher comments:

Today, the concept of wages includes many elements in addition to economic value. It has come to embody sociological, psychological, and organizational elements as well.⁶

In reference to a major obstacle facing motion and time study, another "real" problem area, Nadler remarks:

The results of motion and time study application have proved its worth to many industries and people. However, motion and time study, by its very nature, deals with human beings rather extensively. Therefore, the obstacles to the successful application of motion and time study are usually related to individuals and/or groups of individuals.⁷

Perhaps, then, what is needed is a re-evaluation, or at least a clearer conception, of what constitutes "real" problems to business and industry.

This dilemma is vividly expressed by Miller and Form, who indicate that "superb technical equipment is administered with expert technical skill while human relations are left floundering without proper attention and knowledge."⁸ The solution to such a complex problem, i.e., narrowing the gulf between technological accomplishments and the development of administrative leadership, which can integrate employee needs and enterprise objective, does not lend itself to any stereotyped treatment. The development of leadership requires a depth analysis of enterprise needs and available personnel.

Once again, we are faced with the real problem of how to develop the type of leadership that can effect positive results within the framework of enterprise policies.

Leadership—An Investigation

In order to investigate leadership development, an experimental situation was established. Underlying the structure of this experiment was the hypothesis that leadership skills could be developed as a by-product of subject matter contained in particular school courses such as principles of management, industrial psychology, industrial sociology, and labor problems. The development of these skills, it was also assumed, could be facilitated by the introduction of role playing or sociodramatic techniques. In other words it was assumed that by studying the dynamisms of the informal organization of an enterprise or the complexities of col-

lective bargaining, individuals might acquire certain leadership skills. In order to assist in the development of leadership skills, sociodramatic techniques, as indicated above, were employed in the experimental group with the hope that these techniques would engender the development of positive leadership attitudes as measured by the *Couey and Couey Checklist on Group Problems*.⁹ This basic hypothesis, then, was structured about the possibility that by using sociodramatic techniques one could develop leadership through study and analysis of human relations problems. The results of this particular experiment, recognizing certain basic limitations, did not support this hypothesis, i.e., that there were no significant differences as measured by the *Couey and Couey Checklist on Group Problems* in leadership attitudes in either the experimental or control groups. The reasons for this may be many and varied, but it does appear that a thorough reappraisal of concepts of leadership development might be in order.

Before delving into an analysis of the results of this investigation, consider the basic pattern of research. Five separate classes were involved in this experiment. The classes, along with the number of students tested in each of these classes, are cited in Table I.

TABLE I
SELECTED CLASS GROUPS TESTED FOR LEADERSHIP ATTITUDES, JAN.-MARCH 1957

Class	No. of students
1. Industrial Sociology	17*
2. Principles of Management	15
3. Industrial Psychology	9
4. Industrial Psychology	13
5. Labor Problems	13
Total	67

*Experimental group.

At the beginning of the quarter, the *Couey and Couey Checklist on Group Problems* was administered to each of these classes. This instrument was again administered to each of these classes toward the end of the quarter. The resultant mean scores for each group are cited in Table II.

TABLE II
INITIAL AND FINAL MEAN SCORES ON LEADERSHIP ATTITUDE TEST BY SELECTED CLASS GROUPS, JAN.-MARCH 1957

Class	Initial	Final
1. Industrial Sociology	13.88	13.29
2. Principles of Management	14.13	12.66
3. Industrial Psychology	12.33	13.55
4. Industrial Psychology	15.00	14.30
5. Labor Problems	14.23	13.38

Notice that there are no significant differences between the initial and final means for any group.¹⁰ It is recognized that the criticism may be voiced

6. David W. Belcher, *Wage and Salary Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 3.

7. Gerald Nadler, *Motion and Time Study* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), p. 21. By permission.

8. Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 72.

9. Although the *Couey and Couey Checklist on Group Problems* has not been completely validated, there are definite indications that this test can be employed in discerning changes in leadership attitudes.

10. Valuable assistance in the analysis of data was provided by Charles C. Mitchell, Assistant Professor of Psychology, Georgia State College of Business Administration.

that all of the subject matter should have been identical or as nearly identical as possible, that the test should have been validated, and that one school quarter does not provide a sufficient period of time to conduct such an experiment. Acknowledging the validity of these criticisms, all interpretations of this investigation have been made with these limitations in mind.

Implications of This Investigation

What, then, do these results imply? Many persons would probably agree that one goal of educational institutions is the development of community, business, and industrial leaders. How, then, do these institutions hope to engender leadership development? Apparently it is taken for granted that leadership is to be developed through study and investigation of subject areas and disciplines which are in a theoretical juxtaposition to leadership methodology, but which are not basically related to the problems of leadership skill development. In other words, it is sometimes assumed that leadership is developed through a kind of "intellectual osmosis"; i.e., by studying the dynamics of informal organization or collective bargaining, for example, leadership can be developed. Logically, however, why should leadership be developed by "ricochet" learning any more than statistics or chemistry?

The military seems to have recognized the inherent weakness of the "leadership-through-osmosis" process and has acted accordingly with the establishment of leadership schools designed to meet its own particular needs. Whether or not these schools develop the type of leadership required by business and industry is certainly a debatable question. What is significant, however, is that the military has apparently realized that leadership is something that cannot be taught in a completely unstructured situation, but that leadership, like the use of weapons, must be taught and then practiced.

Perhaps what is needed are courses designed to teach both leadership theory and leadership skills—courses structured directly upon the leadership problems of business and industry—problems indigenous, even, to particular enterprises. Of course, it would be naive to assume that such courses represent a panacea to the complex problem of leadership development. The installation of such courses, however, might provide a workable solution to the riddle of how best to untie the Gordian knot of leadership development—a knot which is constantly tightened by the unrelenting forces of atomic civilization.

Of course, even if certain leadership courses were established, it would still be necessary to develop and utilize a myriad of teaching techniques that would provide effective vehicles for developing leadership skills. One very promising technique is sociodrama or role-playing. It appears, however,

that this technique alone cannot develop leadership skills unless role-playing situations are structured about leadership problems which would complement subject matter pertaining to leadership theory. Because role-playing appears to have certain promise as a technique for developing leadership skills, some consideration will be given to a description of this group involvement device.

Role-Playing Defined

The concept of sociodrama as a device for teaching and analysis was developed by J. L. Moreno. Literally, sociodrama means "action in behalf of the other fellow."¹¹ Sociodrama is the acting out of certain situations and is dependent upon the spontaneous participation and reactions of the role-players.

It should be understood that sociodrama is not another scheme created by the "impractical" social scientist. As a training and leadership development technique, it offers to the business world the opportunity effectively and economically to assess the relative merits of individuals as human relations practitioners. Smith comments:

Role playing has the important asset of affording practice which is as close to the real situation as the supervisor can get without being in it. It therefore has potentialities for correcting a common defect of training: A supervisor reads a book, attends a lecture, or participates in a conference on how to supervise. He conscientiously memorizes a list of excellent rules. But he finds that on the job he is behaving as he did before he learned the rules. He has learned rules, not actions. Role playing provides the opportunity to learn the actions.¹²

Role-playing as a group involvement technique can be effectively utilized in many situations. Klein suggests four areas in which role-playing might be employed: "(1) training in leadership and human relations skills; (2) training in sensitivity to people and situations; (3) the stimulation of discussions; (4) training to more effective group problem solving."¹³

It is possible, then, that leadership must be taught, and sociodrama might well provide an excellent technique for reaching the group and more directly involving the group members in the leadership development process.

This challenge is there. The burden of solving this problem of leadership development rests squarely upon the shoulders of all persons who are vitally interested in perpetuating and improving our very way of life. Positive action must be taken, and great care must be exercised in order not to underestimate the need for effective administrators, since, as Cornell indicates, "Wise leadership is the most important single factor in successful operation."¹⁴

11. J. L. Moreno, *Sociodrama*, Psychodrama Monographs, No. 1 (New York: Beacon House, 1944), p. 3.

12. Henry Clay Smith, *Psychology of Industrial Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955) p. 376. By permission.

13. Alan F. Klein, *Role Playing in Leadership Training and Group Problem Solving* (New York: Association Press, 1956), p. 21.

14. W. B. Cornell, *Organization and Management in Industry*, (New York: Ronald Press, Co., 1947), p. 60.

INTERNATIONAL COTTON EXPOSITION

(Continued from page 5)

season, and a steady stream of publicity, paid attendance did climb from the "alarmingly diminutive" daily average of 844 during October to 2,686 in November and 3,936 in December. By the end of November the *Constitution* noted a changed complexion in the hotel registers as the names of southern cities began to appear more regularly.²⁸ The total paid attendance for the 76 days that the grounds were open was 195,518, the grand total being 290,038. The largest single days attendance occurred on December 7 when 8,847 people paid their 50 cent pieces to enter. When contrasted with anticipated gate receipts of from 200,000 to 300,000 dollars, the 96,000 dollars actually taken in was not only disappointing, but failed to return to the investors more than a small portion of their original investment.²⁹ Those championing the Exposition assuaged their wounded feelings by basking in the warmth of northern approbation. The *Augusta Chronicle* reflected this reaction when it commented "it is pleasing to know that . . . the north will more than make up for southern neglect. . . ." and warned that "if our own people do not or cannot seize upon the prizes before them the stranger will surely do so."³⁰

Also distressing was the failure of Georgia's Negro population to give active support to the Exposition. Perhaps their general lack of interest was due principally to the fact that the only Negro contribution to the fair was an exhibit prepared by Liberia's consul at Philadelphia. In an effort to entice Atlanta's 16,000 Negroes to attend in large numbers the Executive Committee set aside December 28 as Freedman's Day. Frederick Douglass and Blanche K. Bruce, who were invited to address the audience in Judges Hall, both declined because of prior commitments, but W. A. Pledger, Negro editor of the *Journal of Progress*, made an "impressive" address summarizing the advancement of the race and its evaluating prospects for the future. The paid attendance, however, was a disappointing 2,910.³¹

The promoters and exhibitors also complained that they did not receive sufficient support at the gate from the white citizens of Atlanta. Ironically, this situation was caused by the enhanced business enjoyed by Atlanta as a result of the Exposition. So busy were the merchants and real estate agents that they had little time to visit Oglethorpe Park. More deserving of sympathy was the plight of the workers. Since they were employed six days each week and the Exposition was closed on Sunday, they too had no opportunity to visit the fair. They appealed to Kimball to remain open two evenings a

week, but this he declined to do, explaining that it would entail a hardship to the staff of 2,000 who tended the exhibits. Kimball made a counterproposal that the merchants buy specially prepared tickets for their workers and give them an afternoon off to see the fair. Apparently this failed to strike a responsive chord for, although Kimball spoke hopefully of selling 5,000 of these tickets, only 264 were sold, 203 of them to William E. Barrows of Connecticut for distribution among Atlanta's school teachers. As a final gesture the Executive Committee designated Monday, December 26, when all stores would be closed, as Mechanics and Clerks Day. Undoubtedly most workers, exhausted by the heavy Christmas season business, preferred to spend the day resting at home, for the paid attendance was a meager 1,600.³²

Atlanta, A Gracious Host

Atlantans did, however, cooperate fully in housing, feeding, and entertaining the guests of the city during the last three months of 1881. That a city the size of Atlanta was able to handle a fair of such magnitude is a tribute to the executive ability of its promoters and the civic-mindedness of its residents. A citizens committee of 25 cooperated fully with the Executive Committee in the reception and entertainment of distinguished guests, helped decorate the public buildings, and participated fully in the exercises.

The greatest concern was for housing and boarding the visitors. Atlanta had two fine hotels—the Kimball House and the Markham—and a number of smaller ones, but with anticipated crowds of 20,000 to 30,000 it was feared that these accommodations would be insufficient. To assure adequate housing and preclude the danger of exorbitant rates, the Executive Committee decided to arrange for tent accommodations for military organizations and large groups, to construct a 300 room Exposition Hotel adjoining the fair grounds, and to establish a Department of Public Comfort which would canvass the city, prepare a list of all persons willing to provide private accommodations, and maintain offices to direct visitors to private homes.³³

As it turned out, the mass influx did not take place. Consequently the Exposition Hotel was "financially unprofitable," but perhaps did serve an important function in keeping competitive prices in line. The tent company soon folded its tents and quietly stole away. The Department of Public Comfort, maintaining an office across the street from the main railroad terminal, performed a valuable service to visitors. As for entertaining influential guests, the elegant residences along Peachtree Street were thrown open as leading citizens co-

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28. *Constitution*, Nov. 26, 1881.
29. *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1881; *New Orleans Times* in *ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1881; *Augusta Chronicle* in *Constitution*, Nov. 24, 1881; *Cincinnati Gazette* in *Constitution*, Nov. 26, 1881.
30. *Augusta Chronicle* in *Constitution*, Nov. 24, 1881.
31. *Constitution*, Dec. 28, 29, 1881 and Jan. 1, 1882; *Louisville Courier Journal* in *ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1881.

32. *Constitution*, Oct. 21, Dec. 10, 11, 1881; *Report*, p. 306.

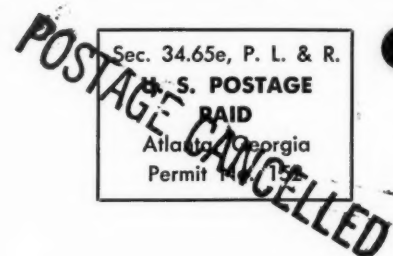
33. *Constitution*, Oct. 7, Dec. 7, 1881; *Report*, pp. 109, 121, 332-335.

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FILM REVIEW

ELECTRONIC COMPUTERS IMPROVE MANAGEMENT CONTROL

A new introduction to the field of electronic data-processing has been provided by the University of California at Los Angeles, Extension Division. This, a sound movie, *Electronic Computers Improve Management Control*, prepared by the above agency, presents a very attractive survey of the subject. In its running time of approximately 15 minutes, the film provides a brief case study of business management's use of EDP.

First, in the form of an animated cartoon, the film shows the snags and delays which may occur in manual records systems. The production control system of a fictitious firm, the XYZ Furniture Company, is used as an example. An order is traced from its placement with the firm to its final disposition. In so doing, the film shows many delays and errors traceable to paperwork bottlenecks and managerial decisions based on faulty or incomplete data. Credit control is lax. Lack of inventory control results in overstocking of certain items, and understocking of others. Finally, because of delays and poor scheduling, the order is not filled within the deadline and is lost.

The second portion of the film, actually a "movie within a movie," gives a survey of various machine components. Here are shown actual devices of data input, storage, computation, and output. These are of various capacities, and represent the products of a number of machine manufacturers.

Returning to the cartoon technique and the XYZ Furniture Company, the film then shows the same order as it could be handled in an electronic data-processing system. By reference to order receipt, production planning, credit survey, and inventory control, the broad scope of EDP is indicated. A constant comparison with the manual system is made, describing the savings of the EDP method.

In summary, the film provides a very attractive introduction to the subject. Its intent is not to describe technically, but to plant the idea of EDP's application to business administration. As such, it appears successful. It should raise in the viewer's mind many questions on the use of electronic data-processing as a tool of modern business manage-

ment.

It could be said, however, that the system is made to appear too easy, too automatic. It infers that EDP is a cure-all for the administrative problems of business. Of course, the advantages of the electronic system are not to be denied, but the tremendous problems of conversion and effective utilization should not be neglected. Too often these have been ignored, or not fully considered, until the system was actually installed and conversion attempted.

The machines have great capabilities and potentialities; so great that methods of management, accounting, and business research seem hard put to exercise full exploitation. EDP can replace present records systems, and most applications begin with this operation. Perhaps of even greater importance is the ability of the electronic system to perform operations hitherto impossible, or unfeasible. The capabilities of electronic machines in research and analysis have been demonstrated in their scientific operations. What remains is to harness these capabilities to the work of business management.

Reviewed by Fritz A. McCameron, Ph.D.,
Associate Professor of Accounting,
School of Business Administration of
Georgia State College of Business
Administration

This film is available for rental and for sale. Inquiries may be directed to the Educational Film Sales Department, University Extension, University of California, Los Angeles 24, California. Refer to: Cat. No. EF-5610; 15 min., color; price \$150; rental \$10.

INTERNATIONAL COTTON EXPOSITION

(Continued from page 11)

operated magnificently in holding banquets, receptions, and private dinners. A few wealthy exhibitors, such as William E. Barrows, Frank T. Howe, and the representative of W. T. Blackwell and Company, rented large houses and entertained grandly, vying with such Atlantans as Henry Grady, Rufus Bullock, George Winship, R. C. Clarke, J. H. Porter, and Hannibal I. Kimball in the "generous prodigality" of their entertainment.³⁴

³⁴ Constitution, Oct. 27, 1891; Report, p. 105.